

ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN LIVER DIVINATION

H. Dillon

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Divination L. 12 —

ANALECTA ORIENTALIA
COMMENTATIONES SCIENTIFICAE DE REBUS ORIENTIS ANTIQUI
CURA PONTIFICII INSTITUTI BIBLICI EDITAE

Num. 1: NIK. SCHNEIDER, Die Drehem- und Djoḥa-Urkunden der
Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, in Autographie
und mit systematischen Wörterverzeichnissen, 92 S. + 112 Taf. L. 80 —
Num. 2: ANTON DEIMEL, Šumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit
Urukaginas und seiner Vorgänger. Abschluss der Einzelstudien
und Zusammenfassung der Hauptresultate, 113 S. 60 —
Num. 3: J. MARKWART, A Catalogue of the provincial capitals of
Ērānshahr (Pahlavi Text, Version and Commentary) pag. 120 . 50 —
Num. 4: MAURUS WITZEL, Texte zum Studium sumerischer Tempel
und Kultstätten 50 —

Übersicht
über
die Keilschrift - Literatur

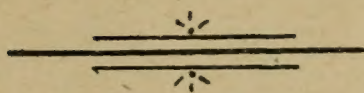
Heft 2.

Assyro - Babylonian
Liver - Divination

by

H. Dillon.

Prof. of S. Script. St. Joseph's College, Upholland (Lancashire).

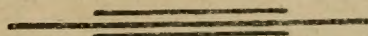


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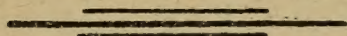


Principal Abbreviations used:

- AJSL = *The American Journal of Semitic Languages* ed. Harper and Smith.
 AO = *Der Alte Orient*.
 AO, = *Antiquités Orientales*, (Registration Letters of Louvre Tablets).
 AOF = *Archiv für Orientforschung*.
 AOS = *Altorientalische Studien*.
 BAB = *Babyloniaca*, ed. Virolleaud.
 BE = *The Babyl. Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* ed. Hilprecht.
 Bez. Cat. = *Bezold, Catalogue of the Cuneif. Tabl. in the Kouyunjik Collection*.
 Bibl. US = *Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale*, Krassburg.
 Craig RT = *Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*.
 CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babyl. Tabl. in the Brit. Museum*.
 DA = *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages*, Boissier.
 Div = *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination Assyro-Babylonienne*, Boissier.

 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
 Jastr. Rel. = *Jastrow, M. Jun., Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*.
 JMOs = *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*.
 KAR = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, ed. Ebeling.
 KB = *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*.
 King Chron. = *King, Chronicles concerning early Babylonian kings*.
 Kl. = *Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*.
 Kn. = *Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*.
 KuB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*.
 Lenor. Choix. = *Lenormant, Choix de textes*.
 MAOG = *Mitteilungen der altorient. Gesellschaft*, ed. Ebeling.
 MCL = *Registration Letters of Morgan's Collection of Tablets*.
 Morg. = *Clay, Babyl. records in the Library of J. P. Morgan*.
 MVAG = *Mitteilungen der vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*.
 OLZ = *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*.
 OTSS = *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*.
 PAPS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.
 Penn. UM = *Pennsylvania University Museum*.
 PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
 I-VR = *Rawlinson, The Cuneif. Inscriptions of Western Asia*.
 RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie Orientale*.
 RE = *Real Encyclopedie, Pauly-Wissowa*.

- REJ = *Revue d'Etudes Juives*.
- RGVY = *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, ed. Dieterich and Wunsch.
- RP = *Records of the Past*.
- RPn.s. = *Records of the Past*, new series.
- RS = *Revue Semitique*.
- RT = *Recueil de Travaux*, ed. Maspero.
- SHR = *Studies in the History of Religions* presented to Crawford Holwell Toy.
- SKT = *Strassburg Keilschrifttexte*, ed. Frank.
- Smith Assurb. = *Smith, S. A., Die Keilschriften Assurbanipals*.
- Smith Misc. = *Smith, S. A., Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*.
- TC = *Textes Cuneiformes*, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales.
- TCP = *Transactions of the College of Physicians, Pennsylvania*.
- VAT = *Vorderasiatische Texte* (Registration Letters of Berlin Museum Tablets).
- ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.



Introduction.

Sources and Subsidiary Literature.

I Texts.

The place of paramount importance held by liver-divination in Assyrian and Babylonian religion is indicated by the immense number of Cuneiform inscriptions yielded up by the Mesopotamian excavations, which are devoted or make reference to this species of augury.

Not all these inscriptions are accessible to the ordinary student of Assyriology, yet a sufficient number has been published to render possible a serious study of the subject. The following catalogue contains a list of all the published texts I have been able to find.

CATALOGUE.

Old Babyl. Texts:

Reg. No.

Bu 89 - 4 - 26, 238 (livermodel)	CT 6, 1 - 3
Bu 88 - 5 - 12, 591	CT 4, 34
"A"	(Ungnad) BAB 2, p. 257 ff.
VAT 6678	(Ungnad) BAB 3, p. 141 - 144
CMB 10495	BE 14, n. 4
Penn. UM n. 19517	(Sutz) JAOS 38, 2 (1918) 77-96.
2 Augury Reports	(Scheil) RA 14, 3 (1917) 145 - 151
Bibl. US n. 370	SKT R. 4.

Later Texts:

K 3	CT 30, 30	K 59 + Sm 900 + Sm 1511 +
K 4	Smith. Assurb. 3, 25	80-7-19, 124 DA p. 225-232
K 4	KL. n. 109	K 70 + K 7844 CT 31, 1-5
K 28 + K 3960	KL. n. 129	K 85 CT 30, 1
K 37	KL. n. 137	K 93 Smith Misc., p. 15

Reg. No.		Reg. No.	
K 99	Senor. Choix n. 94	K 2090	CT 31, 14
K 102	Kl. n. 106	K 2091	CT 31, 14
K 102	DA p. 47-48	K 2092	CT 31, 15
K 134 + K 4128	CT 28, 43-44	K 2093	CT 31, 13
K 141 + K 6682	DA p. 256-261	K 2094	CT 31, 13
K 159	Smith Assurb. 3, 27-28	K 2095 + K 219	CT 20, 28
K 159	Kl. n. 105	K 2130	King Chron. 129-137
K 182 + K 3038	CT 28, 47-48	K 2130	IVR, 34
K 187	CT 31, 28-29	K 2146	CT 20, 26
K 195	Kn 107	K 2169	Smith Misc. p. 20-21
K 219	CT 20, 28	K 2235	CT 20, 39-42
K 258	Smith Misc. p. 22-23	K 2235	DA p. 80-82
K 303	Kl. n. 113	K 2263	CT 20, 31-33
K 375	Kl. n. 117	K 2263 + K 3973	DA p. 189-194
K 385	Kl. n. 116	K 2370	Craig RT 1, pl. 4
K 392	Kl. n. 114	K 2608 + K 2633 + K 3016 +	
K 396	Kl. n. 110	K 3435	Craig RT 1, pl. 81-82
K 401	Kl. n. 119	K 2618	CT 20, 9
K 717	CT 28, 44	K 2663	Kl. n. 17
K 1288	Kn 150	K 2712	CT 31, 19-20
K 1288	Craig RT 1, 27-28	K 2714 + K 3831 + K 4062	CT 28, 50
K 1352	CT 20, 1	K 2747	Kn 142
K 1352	DA p. 43-44	K 3016 s. K 2608	
K 1360	Kl. n. 128	K 3038 s. K 182	
K 1401	DA p. 95-96	K 3051	Kn. 76
K 1423	Kl. n. 130	K 3052	Kn. 115
K 1436 + K 1523	Kl. n. 122	K 3068	CT 30, 25
K 1523 s. K 1436		K 3161	Kl. n. 107
K 1523 + K 1436	Smith Assurb. 3, 26	K 3435 s. K 2608	
K 1600	Kl. n. 138	K 3490	CT 31, 23
K 1611	Kl. n. 115	K 3546	CT 20, 5
K 1813 + K 3749	CT 30, 12	K 3568 + K 12396	CT 30, 39-40
K 1999	CT 31, 38-40	K 3618	CT 30, 15-16
K 1999	DA p. 36-40	K 3671	CT 20, 3-4
K 2086 + 82-3-23, 26 + 83-1-18, 421, 422	CT 31, 9-12	K 3673	CT 20, 31-33
K 2088	CT 31, 13	K 3676	CT 20, 24
K 2089	CT 31, 14	K 3689 + K 3871 + 81-7-27, 133	CT 30, 2-3-4

K 3741	Kl. n. 126	K 4062 s. K 2714	
K 3742 + K 4284	Kl. n. 124	K 4064	CT 28, 45
K 3749 s. K 1813		K 4069	CT 20, 27-28
K 3760	CT 28, 49	K 4074	CT 31, 41
K 3788	Kn 120	K 4081 + K 4132 + K 6803	CT 30, 33
K 3791	Kl. n. 108	K 4085	CT 20, 31-33
K 3814	CT 30, 5-6	K 4085	DA p. 195
K 3831 s. K 2714		K 4088	CT 31, 37
K 3837	DA p. 45-46	K 4092	CT 20, 29
K 3841	CT 30, 15-16	K 4103 s. K 3946	
K 3843 + K 4105	CT 30, 9-10	K 4105 s. K 3843	
K 3854	CT 20, 10	K 4127	CT 31, 32
K 3864	CT 30, 1	K 4128 s. K 134	
K 3871 s. K 3689		K 4133 s. K 4018	
K 3940	CT 20, 31-33	K 4268	Kn. 48
K 3943	CT 30, 46-47	K 4269	Kn. 64
K 3945	CT 20, 43-45	K 4270	Kn. 52
K 3946 + K 4103	CT 30, 41-42	K 4284 s. K 3742	
K 3948	CT 30, 46-48	K 4416	CT 20, 39-42
K 3951	CT 20, 43-45	K 4432	CT 20, 41
K 3951 + K 4050 + K 10580 + K 12460 + DT 295	DA 233-237	K 4478	Kn. 65
K 3952	CT 20, 34-47	K 4519	Kn. 41
K 3952 + K 6285 + K 12736	DA p. 196-200	K 4537	Kl. n. 120
K 3960 s. K 28		K 4585	CT 20, 39-42
K 3968	CT 31, 42-43	K 4668	Kn. 1
K 3973 + K 2263	CT 20, 31-33	K 4696	Kl. n. 135
K 3976	CT 31, 46-48	K 4702	CT 31, 23
K 3979	Kl. n. 139	K 4728	Kl. n. 103
K 3983	CT 20, 49	K 5151	CT 20, 7
K 3984	CT 31, 27	K 5519	CT 30, 8
K 3999	CT 20, 7-8	K 5530	CT 30, 7
K 4029	CT 31, 36	K 5876	CT 31, 27
K 4030	DA p. 220-221	K 6128	Kn. 40
K 4034	CT 20, 17	K 6231	CT 28, 49
K 4041	Smith Misc. p. 13	K 6237	CT 20, 14-15
K 4050 s. K 3951		K 6242 + K 3671	CT 20, 3-4
K 4056	CT 31, 19-20	K 6268	CT 30, 22
K 4061	CT 31, 16-18	K 6270 + K 2146	CT 20, 26
		K 6271	CT 20, 13

K 6285 s. K 3952		K 8044	CT 30, 48
K 6327	CT 30, 47	K 8100	CT 28, 46
K 6393	CT 20, 11-12	K 8178	CT 30, 23-24
K 6402	CT 31, 45	K 8325	CT 31, 44
K 6513	CT 30, 28	K 8496	CT 30, 13
K 6682 s. K 141		K 8622	Kn. 62
K 6689	CT 20, 4	K 8690	Senor. Choix. n. 91 p. 236
K 6720 + K 7076 + K 11658 + Sm 321 + Sm 1386	CT 31, 48-49	K 8738	Kl. n. 131
K 6724	CT 20, 11	K 8904	Kl. n. 102
K 6738	CT 30, 22	K 8964	Kn. 49
K 6741	CT 30, 31	K 9063	CT 30, 81
K 6766	CT 20, 16	K 9084	CT 30, 38
K 6769	CT 30, 4	K 9106	Kl. n. 64
K 6785	CT 30, 11	K 9159	CT 30, 13
K 6803 s. K 4081		K 9213 + K 11809	CT 20, 12
K 6837	CT 30, 17	K 9408	CT 30, 8
K 6848	CT 20, 15-16	K 9485	CT 30, 26
K 6863	CT 30, 5	K 9667	CT 20, 25
K 6905	CT 30, 2	K 9686	CT 20, 31-33
K 6907	CT 30, 27	K 9698	CT 30, 10
K 6936	CT 20, 20	K 9752	CT 30, 25
K 6938	CT 20, 20	K 9815	CT 30, 37
K 6973	CT 20, 9	K 9861	CT 30, 32
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K 7032	CT 30, 8	K 10149	Kn. 36
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K 7151	CT 30, 32	K 10434	CT 30, 22
K 7248	CT 20, 3	K 10435	CT 30, 36
K 7255	CT 20, 20	K 10459	CT 20, 19
K 7269	CT 30, 38	K 10482	CT 20, 12
K 7588	CT 31, 17-18	K 10528	CT 30, 37
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K 7971	CT 31, 37	K 10579	CT 30, 40
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		K 10761	CT 31, 22

K 10789	KL. n. 123	K 11474	Kn. 147
K 10805	CT 20, 50	K 11475	Kn. 77
K 10839	CT 20, 20	K 11476	Kn. 57
K 10882	KL. n. 104	K 11477	Kn. 98
K 11030	CT 31, 10	K 11478	Kn. 149
K 11422	CT 30, 3	K 11479	Kn. 56 ^b
K 11429	Kn. 129	K 11479 + 80-7-19, 70	KL. n. 29
K 11430	Kn. 23	K 11480	Kn. 55
K 11431 + 83-1-18, 569 +		K 11481	Kn. 70
K 11453	Kn. 30	K 11482	Kn. 21
K 11432	Kn. 88	K 11483	Kn. 121
K 11434	Kn. 89	K 11484	Kn. 56 ^a
K 11435	Kn. 85	K 11485	Kn. 9
K 11436	Kn. 82	K 11485 + Sm 908	KL. n. 5
K 11437	Kn. 108	K 11486	Kn. 54
K 11438	Kn. 75	K 11487	Kn. 102
K 11439	Kn. 35	K 11488	Kn. 16
K 11440	Kn. 116	K 11489 + 83-1-18, 534	Kn. 29
K 11442	Kn. 4	K 11489 + 80-7-19, 71 + 75 +	
K 11444	Kn. 109	83-1-18, 534	KL. n. 16
K 11445	Kn. 143	K 11490	Kn. 60
K 11446	Kn. 153	K 11491	Kn. 130
K 11449 + 81-2-4, 192	Kn. 117	K 11492	Kn. 50
K 11450 s. 83-1-18, 549		K 11492 + Sm 412	KL. n. 26
K 11452	Kn. 140	K 11493	Kn. 38
K 11453 s. K 11431		K 11494	Kn. 17
K 11457	Kn. 110	K 11494 + K 12637	KL. n. 9
K 11459	Kn. 118	K 11495	Kn. 12
K 11460	Kn. 155	K 11495 + Bu 91-5-9, 181	KL. n. 1
K 11461	Kn. 136	K 11496	Kn. 94
K 11462	Kn. 122	K 11497	Kn. 28
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K 11466	Kn. 160	K 11498 + 81-2-4, 190 +	
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K 11470	Kn. 161	K 11501	Kn. 18
K 11472	Kn. 146	K 11502	Kn. 3
K 11473 + 82-5-22, 986	Kn. 19	K 11502 + Sm 705	KL. n. 3

K 11503	Kn. 7	K 12130	CT 20, 19
K 11504	Kn. 25	K 12144	CT 30, 15
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K 11507	Kn. 80	K 12279	CT 30, 13
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K 11514	Kn. 26	K 12396 s. K 3568	
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K 11517	Kn. 32	K 12471	CT 20, 18
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K 11518	Kn. 137	K 12554	CT 31, 2
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K 11524	Kn. 164	K 12648	CT 20, 25
K 11525	Kn. 14	K 12650	CT 20, 19
K 11526	Kn. 156	K 12667 s. K 11494	
K 11527	Kn. 162	K 12684	Kl.n. 42
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K 11665	Kl.n. 134	K 12738	Kl.n. 18
K 11711	CT 30, 28	K 12741	CT 30, 5
K 11714	CT 31, 29	K 12783	Kl.n. 52
K 11809 + K 9213	CT 20, 12	K 12790	CT 30, 35
K 11826	CT 20, 25	K 12808	CT 20, 9
K 12012	Kl.n. 67	K 12809	Kl.n. 133
K 12072	CT 30, 32	K 12845	CT 31, 21
K 12078	CT 28, 48	K 12889	CT 20, 9
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		K 13998 + K 6973	CT 20, 9

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K 14148	CT 20,5	Sm 904	Kl.n. 23
K 14214	CT 31, 22	Sm 908 s. K 11485	
		Sm 916	CT 31, 22
		Sm 986 + Sm 1050	CT 30, 49
Sm 119	Kl.n. 59	Sm 1050 s. Sm 986	
Sm 236	CT 31, 45	Sm 1053 s. Sm 384	
Sm 238	CT 31, 7	Sm 1158 s. K 11505	
Sm 239	MVAG 21 p.193	Sm 1195	Kl.n. 63
Sm 266 + Rm 135 + Rm 472 + Bu 91-5-9, 169	Kl.n. 14	Sm 1214	Kl.n. 99
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Sm 524	Kl.n. 47	Sm 1390	Kl.n. 62
Sm 586	CT 30, 12	Sm 1412	CT 20, 6
Sm 591	Kl.n. 2	Sm 1511 s. K 59	
Sm 608	Kl.n. 73	Sm 1516	Kn 47
Sm 625	CT 20, 9	Sm 1520	CT 20, 18
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Sm 660 + 82-5-22, 495	Kl.n. 24	Sm 1811	Kl.n. 33
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Sm 840	CT 20, 23	Sm 2488	Kn 113
		Sm 2491	Kn 63

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Rm 43	Kn 20		
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Rm 397	Kl. n. 81	171	CT 30, 43
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Rm 480	CT 30, 12-13		
Rm 482	CT 31, 23	Bu 91-5-9,	
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Rm 570	CT 30, 20	168	Kl. n. 58
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Rm 1004	CT 30, 26	170 s. K 11517	
Rm 2, 104 s. Rm 273		181 s. K 11495	
Rm 2, 106	CT 30, 23-24	191 + 215 + 222	Kl. n. 44
Rm 2, 108	CT 31, 26	194	Kl. n. 55
Rm 2, 112	CT 20, 2	199	Kl. n. 25
Rm 2, 112	DA p. 241-43	201	Kl. n. 13
Rm 2, 217	CT 31, 9	202	CT 31, 21
Rm 2, 223	CT 30, 14	208	Kl. n. 118
Rm 2, 238	CT 20, 38	215 s. Bu 91-5-9, 191	
Rm 2, 253	CT 30, 35	216	Kl. n. 80
Rm 2, 279 + 80-7-19, 296	CT 31, 6-8	222 s. Bu 91-5-9, 191	
Rm 2, 356	CT 31, 12		
Rm 2, 466	CT 20, 39-42		
Rm 2, 541	CT 30, 40		

79-7-8,

27 . . .	CT 30,29
110 . . .	CT 30,34
120 . . .	CT 20,30
129 . . .	CT 30,21
345 . . .	CT 20,22

80-7-19,

70 s. K 11479	
71 s. K 11499	
73 . . .	Kl.n.90
74 . . .	Kl.n.27
75 s. K 11489	
77 . . .	Kl.n.50
78 . . .	Kl.n.46
79 . . .	Kl.n.15
87 . . .	CT 30,26
124 s. K 59	
137 . . .	Kl.n.49
157 . . .	CT 20,8
162 s. Sm 2002	
186 . . .	Kl.n.58
295 . . .	CT 30,50
296 . . .	CT 31,6-7

81-2-4,

189 . . .	Kn 95
190 . . .	Kn 81
190 s. K 11498	
191 . . .	Kn 91
192 s. K 11449	
193 . . .	Kn 92
197 . . .	CT 30,34-35
231 . . .	CT 31,28-29
279 . . .	CT 20,22
283 . . .	Kl.n.92
290 s. K 11498	
342 . . .	Kl.n.65
397 . . .	CT 20,21

81-2-4,

436 . . . Kl.n. 6

81-7-27,

136 . . . Kl.n.111

82-3-23,

19 . . . CT 20,22

23 . . . CT 20,24

26 s. K 2086

42 . . . Kn.141

98 . . . CT 30,10

115 . . . CT 20,22

82-5-22,

73 + 83-1-18, 283+

570 . . . Kl.n.8

86 . . . Kl.n.112

136 . . . Kn 111

137 . . . Kl.n.140

175 . . . Kn 67

177 . . . Kn 90

179 . . . Kn 103

480 . . . Kn 93

481 . . . Kn 144

482 . . . Kn 158

483 . . . Kn 59

484 . . . Kn 84

485 . . . Kn 124

486 . . . Kn 45

487 . . . Kn 128

488 . . . Kn 123

489 . . . Kn 39

490 . . . Kn 135

490 . . . Kl.n. 58

491 . . . Kn 74

492 . . . Kn 31

493 . . . Kn 138

494 . . . Kn 132

82-5-22,

495 Kn 37
 495 s. Sm 660
 498 CT 20, 21
 500 CT 31, 24-25
 986 s. K 11473

83-1-18,

383 s. 82-5-22, 72
 410 CT 31, 30-33
 411 CT 20, 50
 415 CT 30, 44-45
 416 CT 30, 41-43
 419 CT 30, 18-19
 421, & 422 s. K 2086
 423 CT 30, 29
 431 CT 30, 11
 433 CT 20, 21
 448 CT 28, 47
 458 CT 30, 18-19
 467 CT 30, 21
 503 Kl. n. 66
 518 Kl. n. 11
 526 Kn. 99
 527 Kn. 152
 530 Kn. 97
 531 + 568 Kn. 46
 532 Kn. 69
 533 Kn. 114
 534 s. K 11489
 535 Kn. 42
 536 Kn. 101
 537 Kn. 71
 538 Kn. 5
 539 Kn. 10
 540 Kn. 43
 541 Kn. 104
 542 Kn. 105
 543 Kn. 106

83-1-18,

544 Kn. 119
 545 Kn. 33
 545 s. Sm 657
 546 Kn. 33
 548 Kn. 78
 549 + K 11450 Kn. 66
 550 Kn. 133
 551 s. K 11505
 552 Kn. 73
 553 Kn. 53
 555 s. Sm 2485
 556 Kn. 127
 557 + 563 Kn. 51
 558 Kn. 61
 559 Kn. 83
 563 s. 83-1-18, 557
 564 Kn. 24
 565 Kn. 96
 568 s. 83-1-18, 531
 569 s. K 11431
 570 Kn. 15
 570 s. 82-5-22, 72
 571 Kn. 44
 573 Kl. n. 61
 574 Kl. n. 68
 575 Kl. n. 82
 576 Kl. n. 31
 577 Kl. n. 51
 578 Kl. n. 45
 580 Kl. n. 91
 582 Kl. n. 48
 583 Kl. n. 19
 585 Kl. n. 69
 587 Kl. n. 94
 589 Kl. n. 38
 697 Kn. 72
 699 Kl. n. 70
 765 Kl. n. 93

83-1-18,

790 Kl.n.32
 795 Kl.n.84
 799 Kl.n.89
 800 Kl.n.85
 822 Kl.n.95
 860 Kl.n.96
 879 Kl.n.83
 891 Kl.n.88
 897 s. K 11467

Senor. Choix. n. 88

Senor. Choix. n. 90

VAT 744 MVAG 21,191

VAT 984 MVAG 21,192

(VAT 8320 = Hixite livermodel

KuB 4, 72)

VAT 8611 KAR 4, n. 150
 VAT 8687 KAR 9, n. 431
 VAT 8710 KAR 9, n. 422
 VAT 9413 KAR 9, n. 433
 VAT 9488 KAR 9, n. 434
 VAT 9570 KAR 9, n. 450
 VAT 9577 KAR 9, n. 449
 VAT 9580 KAR 9, n. 444
 VAT 9599 KAR 9, n. 432
 VAT 9600 KAR 9, n. 447
 VAT 9934 KAR 9, n. 425
 VAT 9969 KAR 4, n. 148
 VAT 9992 KAR 9, n. 452²
 VAT 10100 KAR 4, n. 151
 VAT 10114 KAR 9, n. 427
 VAT 10115 KAR 9, n. 446
 VAT 10125 KAR 9, n. 428
 VAT 10142 KAR 9, n. 437
 VAT 10159 KAR 4, n. 153
 VAT 10168 KAR 4, n. 152
 VAT 10326 KAR 9, n. 438

VAT 10428 KAR 9, n. 453
 VAT 10517 KAR 9, n. 448
 VAT 10536 KAR 9, n. 456
 VAT 10540 KAR 9, n. 439
 VAT 10666 KAR 9, n. 441
 VAT 10711 KAR 9, n. 440
 VAT 10732 KAR 9, n. 445
 VAT 10751 KAR 9, n. 454
 VAT 10757 KAR 9, n. 435
 VAT 10788 KAR 9, n. 451
 VAT 10811 KAR 9, n. 429
 VAT 10868 KAR 9, n. 442
 VAT 10869 KAR 9, n. 452¹
 VAT 11319 KAR 9, n. 459
 VAT 11331 KAR 9, n. 457
 Constantinople Omen-
 teæt KAR 9, n. 426

AO 172 TC 6, 12-15
 AO 6452 TC 6, 1-4
 AO 6453 TC 6, 5-7
 AO 6454 TC 6, 10-11
 AO 6457 TC 6, 8-9
 AO 6468 (dupl. of 83-1-18, 410x
 K 959) TC 6, 18
 AO 6474 TC 6, 16-17

MCL 1865 Morg. 4, n. 12
 MCL 1874 Morg. 4, n. 13
 MCL 2614 Morg. 4, n. 15
 MCL 2615 Morg. 4, n. 16

No. 67404 Neo-Babyl. (= Assyria K 2130)

King Chron. 139-141

Stele Nabun'aid col. XI . MVAG 1, 82-83

Inscript. of Nabun'aid . VR. 63

Counting down this catalogue we find the published texts number about 640. It is probable, however, that a small number has yet to be added to make the list complete.

The vast majority of these inscriptions including a liver-model (Rm 620) were discovered in the excavations of Kouyunjik having belonged to the collections of Assurbanipal's library. Some thirty seven come from Assur and eight were found at Urk (Uruk). We have a small number from Babylonia: Scheil has published two texts, one of which is from Nippur, the other from Dur-Kurigalzu. BE 14,4 is from the temple archives of Nippur. Excavations at Babylon brought to light an ancient liver-model (Bu 89-4-26, 238).

Although liver-divination seems to go back to the beginning of Babylonian religion none of the inscriptions we have is older than the I Babylonian Dynasty. Two of the oldest, one a liver-model, though bearing no date, are to be assigned for palaeographical reasons to the time of Hammurabi. Two others belong to the reign of Ammisaduga and are the oldest dated liver-omen texts we possess; five were written in the Cassite period nearly all dated from the reign of Burnaburiash II. The great bulk of the remaining texts pertain to Assyrian times during the reigns of Assarhaddon and Assurbanipal, while two are of Nabun'id, the last Neo-Babylonian king, and the Louvre texts and two of P. Morgan's - nine in all - are of the Seleucid period.

About 550 of the inscriptions now published belong to the Kouyunjik Collection preserved in the British Museum; seven are to be found among the "Antiquités Orientales" of the Louvre; forty are in the Berlin Museum; two in the University Museum of Pennsylvania; four in P. Morgan's Museum, and one in the University Library of Strasbourg. A tablet of the time of Ammisaduga (BAB 2) is in the private possession of Prof. Meissner.

The chief publications of the British Museum texts are to be found in CT 20. 28. 30. 31., Knudtzon's "Assyrische Belege an den Sonnen-gott" and Klauber's "Politisch-Religiöse Texte". Only a few are to be found elsewhere, as for example, in Boissiers "Choix de Textes" or "Documents Assyriens". The Louvre tablets have been published by Thureau-Dangin in "Textes Cuneiformes", 6, and the Berlin Collection by Ebeling in "Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts", 4 & 9. For the remaining texts which are scattered here and there in various publications see Catalogue. The eight old-Babylonian ones important by reason of their antiquity are placed in the beginning.

NOTE - For a complete list of the Kouyunjik collection liver-omen texts both published and unpublished see Bezold's Catalogue under "Forecasts", "Omens containing a date", "Prayers", and King's Supplement under "Omens". A small number has been erroneously placed by Bezold under "Geometrical Figures" and "Astrological Texts".

2 Subsidiary Literature.

a) Extensive Treatises:

Klauber, "Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit" (Leipzig, 1913).

Jastrow, M. Jun., "Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens"¹⁾, (Giessen, 1912) 2, 174-202. 213-415.

Knudtzon, J. H., "Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott", 2 (Leipzig, 1893).

b) Shorter Treatises and Articles Dealing:

Bezold, "Einige Bemerkungen zur babylonischen Leberschau", (RGV 2/4, 246-252. Giessen, 1905).

Boissier, "Choix de Textes Relatifs à la Divination Assyro-Babylonienne"¹⁾, (Genève, 1905. 1906).

"Note sur un document Babylonien se rapportant à l'Extispicine" (Genève, 1899).

"Note sur un Nouveau Document Babylonien se rapportant à l'Extispicine", (Genève, 1901).

"Les présages de Sargon et de Narām-Sîn - Extraits des Livres des Haruspices", (RS 10, 1902, 275-280).

"Note sur la nouvelle publication des textes divinatoires du British Museum", (Genève, 1905).

"Second note sur la publication des textes divinatoires du British Museum", (Genève, 1914).

"OLZ 11 (1908) 456-461, the meaning of "irru sahirûli" and "kirânu".

¹⁾ An examination of Jastr. Rel. by Boissier is published in BAB 4, 81-93, and an examination of Boiss. Div. by Virolleaud in BAB 4, 94-100.

Boissier, (cont.),

"La Consultation de l'Oracle à l'Époque d'Assurbanipal", (PSBA 24, 229-232).

"Matériaux pour l'Étude de la Religion Babylonienne", (PSBA 25, 75-81).

Clay, "The Liver in Babylonian Divination", (RP n.s. 9, 307 ff.).

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Halévy, "Recherches Bibliques", (REJ 17, 1888, 13).

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"Signs and Names for the Liver", (ZA 20, 105-129).

"An Omen School Text", (OTSS 2, 281 ff.).

"Notes on Omen Texts", (AJSL 23, 97-115).

"Urumusch", (ZA 21, 278-282).

"The Liver in Antiquity and the Beginnings of Anatomy", (TCP 29, 1908, 117-138).

"The Liver as the Seat of the Soul", (SHR, 1912, 143-168).

"Hepatoscopy and Astrology among the Babylonians and Assyrians", (PAPS 49, 646-676).

Johns, "Chronology of Assurbanipal's Reign" - The Forecast Tablets, (PSBA 27, 288-296).

King, "Heart and Livers in Relation to Babylonian Liver-Divination", (JMOS 1911, 95 ff.).

"Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings" 2 (London 1907), 25-45.

Langdon, Stephen, "An Assyrian Grammatical Treatise on an Omen Tablet", (JAOS 27, 88-103).

Lenormant, François, "La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens", (Paris, 1875).

Lutz, H. F., "A Cassite Liver-Omen Text", (JAOS 38, 2, 77-96).

Martin, „*Textes Religieux*“, 108 ff.

Meissner, „*Babylonien und Assyrien*“, (Heidelberg, 1924) 2, 242 ff.

„*Die Monistische Literatur*“, („*Die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*“, 58-65).

Messerschmidt, „*Die Stele Nabu-na'id*“, col. XI, (MVAG 1, 1896, 59-62).

Sayce, „*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*“.

„*Babylonian Literature*“ (London, 1878) 79-82. (id. in RP 11, 81-84).

Schneider, „*Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*“, 521 f.

Scheil, „*Inscription de Nabonide*“, (RT 18, 15-29).

Schrader, „*Keilschrift und Geschichtsforschungen*“, (Giessen, 1878) 518-520.

Smith, H. S., „*Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*“, 3 (Leipzig, 1889) 77-82.

Smith, G., „*History of Assurbanipal*“, (London, 1871) 324.

Stieda, „*Über die ältesten bildlichen Darstellungen der Leber*“ (Jahrbuch - Bonn, 1875).

Ungnad, „*Die Denkmäler der Zukunft bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern*“, (AO 10/3, 7-15).

Virolleaud, Chr., „*Note sur le traité d'extispicine Babylonienne qui porte le titre SHA-TAB*“, (Paris, 1906).

(id. in BAB 1, 123-132).

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Weidner, „*Zur Babylonischen Eingeweideschau*“, (MVAG 21, 1916, 191-198).

„*Zahlenspielerien in akkadischen Leberschauberichten*“, (OLZ 1917, 256-257).

„*Historisches Material in der Babylonischen Omina-Literatur*“, (MDOG 4 - Akkorientalische Studien, 2, 226-240).

Winckler, AOF 2, 50 ff., 125 ff.

Zimmern, „*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*“ (Leipzig, 1901) 82-91.

NOTE - Despite this long list of works dealing with the subject, our knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian Liver-divination is by no means perfect yet, and besides the many texts to be published and translated many obscurities remain in those already treated especially in the explanation of a large number of technical terms.

CHAPTER I

Description of Texts.

Art. 1. Writing and Language.

The writing - at least in the texts reproduced by Knudtzon and Klauber - is partly Assyrian partly Babylonian, and this mixture sometimes appears even in one and the same tablet.

In texts of a later age ideographic writing is used almost exclusively, while in the more ancient one we find phonetic script. This is worthy of note, for it gives rise to one of the greatest difficulties experienced in the study of liver-omen texts. It means that until we possess more of the older type we can know with certainty only the numeric values of many of the characters, and so it is very difficult, if not indeed impossible, to explain satisfactorily the meaning of many of the terms used. This difficulty exists principally as regards the names of parts of the liver and their phenomena.

Again not all the characters are formed with the same care or with uniformity of size, so that in one place they are easily deciphered, in another only with great difficulty.

Art. 2. Division and Composition.

Under the general title of "liver-omen texts" come all those Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform tablets which have a direct bearing upon the practice of liver-divination, an art in which from the varied

¹⁾ The tablets of which the texts are published by Knudtzon vary in size from 178 mm X 108 mm to 125 mm X 63 mm and in thickness from 51 mm to 25 mm becoming as a rule thinner towards the edge.

The colour is very varied even in the case of each single tablet, so that it affords very little assistance in piecing together the scattered fragments into which so many of the tablets have, alas, been broken.

phenomena of a sacrificial sheep's liver the dwellers on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates strove to read what fate the gods had in store for them in the future. We exclude from this heading, however, the ritualistic texts used for the sacrifice as being more conveniently dealt with apart in a treatise on ritual in general¹⁾ and as throwing little or no light upon the theory of liver augury proper.

Liver-omen texts by reason of their contents or their purpose naturally divide themselves into four great classes: *Tamit*-texts, Inquiries, Compendia, Reports. Of these the first and second classes were closely related to each other, for the *Tamit*-texts served as aids for the drawing up of the Inquiries. The same relation exists between the third and fourth classes.

1. First Class. - *Tamit*-texts.

The *Tamit*-texts received their name from the expression *tamit* (= inquiry) which appears in their subscriptions.

In reality they were collections of formulae which the priests compiled to serve them as guides and provide samples in the composition of the inquiry texts,²⁾ for it is clear from the abundance and variety of these formulae in the single texts that they were not used on the occasion of any one particular divination as were the inquiry texts. These formulae, addressed to Shamash and Adad, the chief oracle deities, and in form a mixture of prayer and question, were drawn up in a general manner; thus e.g. they were without the name of the inquirer, and, when speaking of a military expedition without the name of the enemy country nor did they confine themselves to one place or land. Besides some tablets give formulae for public affairs, others for private or family matters. From these the priest selected the formula most suitable for the particular inquiry he wished to propose in the liver inspection about to take place, and owing to its general character he found little difficulty in adapting it to the particular case. Doubtless, since the wording of the inquiry was believed to have an important influence on the result of the inspection - a fact which also appears from an examination of the inquiry texts - a prayer or formula which received a favourable answer on one occasion was regarded as most efficacious for similar future occasions.

Only two mutilated examples of these texts have been pu-

¹⁾ s. Zimmern, „Beiträge etc.“.

²⁾ s. Art. 2, par. 2.

blished¹⁾. One gives formulae for inquiries regarding military undertakings, and in fact is so designated in its subscription which runs thus: "Inquiry (tamit) regarding an expedition against a hostile country to kill, fight and plunder, to determine the setting out and the return". The other refers to family affairs, e.g. birth of male child.

Until we have more texts at our disposal we cannot know in what age or in what religious centre these collections had their origin. However, we may safely say they first arose in Babylonia and afterwards extended to Assyria.

As an example we now give one of the published texts as translated by Jastrow²⁾: Shamash, Lord of Judgement, Adad, Lord of Divination, N.N., Lord of the wool and of this cord, King of Sumar (and Akkad) Commander of Babylon, who in this year has the desire of and without cease is meditated upon marching to his enemy's country, the land of N.N., to kill its (warriors?) and its governor, as your great deity knows. May it come to pass in accordance with the command of your great deity that he this year (go and seize) the country and set himself as magistrate over his extended land, mobilise his army, his land, his military store, his auxiliary troops, his guardian gods and goddesses, call up the king's war-chariot and the war-chariots of his land how manysoever they be, his mighty troops who march beside them and (conquer?) the land of Hamri. . . . the Ahlamé of the tents, how many soever they be, who possess the sea-coast possess. . . the land . . . dwell within his land.

With Marduk, the Lord (of magic) . . . and with good intention has liberated him. With the troops may Bél, Shamash and Marduk, who of the great door of Babylon to his lands may he advance, cross roaring rivers even in flood, magic and overcome above and below ravine, mountain-wall, mountain-fastness the land N.N., may he succeed in killing, robbing and plundering. May it please your great deity (and) Marduk, the Lord of magic, to open up his way, to guide his path, to make good his march. Annihilate the wicked one and the enemy, annihilate his enemy taken prisoner on the way. Wool and this cord by slaying, killing death devastation and destruction by flames may Adad the ashakeku sickness, malignant shivering, frost which impairs everything drive away and reach intact the land of that enemy. After he has reached the land of that enemy, when-

¹⁾ Craig, RT 1, R. 81-82.4.

²⁾ Jastr., Rel. 2, 195-197.

ever with weapons he proceeds against him and attacks the fortified encircled cities, may Bêl, the Lord of the mighty weapons (and) Ištar, mistress of battle cause destruction, cast down his strong weapons, humiliate his might, shatter the terror of the king of the enemy country".

From here to the concluding paragraph, which we now proceed to give, the text is badly mutilated.

"Permit not (, *exib*') that N.N., Lord of the wool and of this cord, until he reach that land and gain, plunder and seize the spoil of the capital, which is in his land, the booty of his field and of the lesser towns, violate (?) (the gods?) of his land. Daily may it be may it be thus".

This last section is what is known as an "*exib*" paragraph in which the gods are besought to guard the king from angering them by unwittingly transgressing in various circumstances during his expedition any of their commands.

2. Second Class. - *Inquiry*-texts.

Texts falling under this head were written in order to present to the all-knowing god Shamash a question or questions to which an answer was requested through a liver-inspection about to take place. This appears clearly from the wording.

One of their chief characteristics is strict adherence to a definite stereotyped form in the composition, and to the constant use of fixed formulae ("*Schablonen*") which are departed from only in so far as the particular circumstances of the case require.

From this characteristic we may conclude that these tablets were written by one of the augury priests ("*bârû*") upon receiving from the inquirer (who was generally the king) an order for a liver inspection accompanied by a draft of the question to be proposed. For it is not likely that the king would have all these complicated formulae at hand for his own use, and on the other hand being of a religious nature they are such as we should expect to find in the possession of the priests. Thus when the order was received the priest with the aid of his "*tamit*" compendia drew up the question and inserted it in its invariable framework of formulae as required by ritualistic usage. As a matter of fact we have just seen that in the *tamit* texts the priests had collections of such formulae.

It should be noted however that the same structure of

compositions or even the same formulae did not necessarily obtain in inquiries of all ages nor even in different places in the same period. Thus in the Kamit texts we possess the inquiry was addressed to Shamash and Adad, while in our inquiries to Shamash alone. In the two classes of text there is also a certain difference of order among the various sections. The following description, therefore, can be applied with certainty and in detail only to the text of the Kouyunjik collection, the only inquiry text we possess. Most of these contain inquiries proposed by Assarhaddon, the remainder containing for the most part inquiries made by Assurbanipal.

In each inquiry six sections constantly present may be distinguished, viz. introduction, question proper, so-called "ezib-lines", repetition of question in abbreviated form, and two concluding formulae. Besides these some of the omens observed and a signature sometimes appeared towards the end of the text.

1st Section. The introduction occupying the first line of the text always consists of the fixed formula: "Šamash bēlu rabû - u ša a-šal-lu-ka an-na(m) kēna a-pal-an-ni" = So! Shamash, great Lord, what I ask thee, answer me with unfailing ascent.

This of itself requests an affirmative response but owing to its mechanical use it was extended also to questions to which negative reply was hoped for.

2nd Section. After the introduction comes the question proper. This may consist of one simple query, or it might be complex containing many queries which were not, however, entirely independent in their purport. Again the query is ordinarily one of three sorts: it may inquire 1) about an attack, invasion or conquest apprehended from some enemy, 2) concerning the advisability of despatching troops, or 3) regarding the dispositions of some one whom the inquirer (the king) intends to appoint to some position of trust - whether he will be faithful and loyal or otherwise. We shall refer in the future to these three classes as queries 1, 2, 3 respectively. Both queries 1 and 2 are often found, as we should expect, in the same complex question.

There are two ways in which this section may be begun. It is a general rule when it deals with some imminent danger from the enemy, as is particularly the case in query 1, it commences by determining a certain period of time in the immediate future with-

in which it is desired to be known if the apprehended danger will take place. In queries 2 and 3 the question proper is introduced immediately without any reference to time. Although the time limit, when present, is ordinarily found in the second line of the text immediately after the introduction, yet it sometimes occurs only later on, when it is preceded namely in a complex question by one of those queries which dispenses with its use. To express it the following fixed formula is used, the names and numbers of the dates being the only varying element:

„ultu ūmu an-ni-i ūmu kam ša arhi an-ni-i araḥ
 (ša šatti an-ni-ti) adi ūmu kam ša araḥ ša šatti an-ni-ti
 (šatti êribti). (ši-kin a-dan-ni-ia) = from this day day of
 this month of (of this year) till day of the month of . . .
 of this year (next year).

The length of the period defined varies in our texts from 7 days to 100: within these limits we find 20, 30, 40, 50, 90 days used ¹⁾.

Immediately after these dates are added the words „ši-kin adanni-ia" = the time determined by me, or „šikin adanni ana nê-pisti barûti" = the time determined for the bârû-rite.

The time is now briefly restated: „ina šikin adanni šuati" = during this defined time, and the question is immediately proceeded with.

The question proper.

Grammatical construction: One of two grammatical constructions may be used in proposing the question: a) the present tense, either with the suffix vowels „u" or „i" added or with the vowel before the third radical lengthened; b) the praeterite preceded by „lû" i.e. „should he (the person in question) do such and such".

Phraseology: Even in this section many phrases are constant and fixed. In queries 1 and 2, however, there is naturally a certain amount of variation, while in query 3 almost every word is stereotyped. The former are always introduced by the words „lišrim likpid" or „išarrimû ikappidû" i.e. should he meditate and plan; the troops are styled „šâbê sisê emûqu", the king's wish „mal libba-šû ublu", and so on.

The question concludes with a stereotyped formula which is composed of three members: a) „thy great deity knows it b) is it

¹⁾ These calculations include the first and last day.

decided in the command, in the sentence of thy great deity, god Shamash, great lord, c) will it be seen, will it be heard?"

It was always endeavoured to propose the question in such a manner that as little room as possible might be left for ambiguity. Thus it was always very brief and clear.

3^d Section. "Ezib-lines". This section is so-called because each line or sentence begins with "eziḅ (ša)". A single exact and adequate translation of this term as used in all these texts is not agreed upon by all. In general it can be deduced from the texts in which it stands to mean "overlook", "neglect", or "impede", "hinder". All agree that it is an imperative begging a favour or request from the divinity. These lines may be as many as ten, so as to make this section more extensive than any of the others. Some of the lines are related to the contents of the question, and often beg Shamash to hinder the king's enemies in some particular way. Others refer to the *šārû*-rite, asking the deity to overlook mistakes made in its performance. The former vary in phraseology according as the question varies: the latter remain constant.

4th Section. Repetition of question. The question is repeated in abbreviated form and contains mostly indirect queries the suffix vowel being omitted.

5th Section. First concluding formula. This is a prayer or wish that the deity may make known his will by lucky omens on the sacrificial sheep's liver. There are two forms in which it could be expressed, one longer, the other shorter. The longer ran thus: "ina libbi šu'i anni-i izziz-za-am-ma an-na kēna ušurāti šalmāti šērē tamit damqūti šalmūti ša pī ilutika rabiti šuknamma lumur" i.e. "in this lamb deign a secure assent, lucky omens, a good lucky oracle of the word of thy great divinity's mouth grant that I may see". In the shorter form the central portion of the above was omitted thus "Ina libbi šu'i anni izzizzamma anna kēna šuknamma lumur".

6th Section. Second concluding formula. This is a further appeal to the deity for a satisfactory answer: "eli ilutika rabiti šamaš bēlu rabū lillikma tērtu litappal", i.e. "may it please thy

great divinity, Shamash, great lord, may you answer with an omen."

Accidental elements. Some signs found on the liver and a priest's signature are often but not always written on these tablets. Their position also varies. The omens may come either before or between or after the concluding formulae or even in the side margins. When they are lacking altogether a blank space is left. Sometimes the results of two or even three inspections are given showing that when the first gave an unfavourable answer a second and, if necessary, a third augury was held. The signature although oftenest in one of the side margins, is sometimes inserted in the text with the omens. The events portended by the omens are not given, neither is the general result - lucky or unlucky - of the liver inspection. These omens, therefore, were notes of the liver phenomena observed written by the augur according as he examined the liver to be re-written later together with their interpretations with more leisure and care upon another tablet. This latter was destined for the king as the answer to his inquiry and belongs to the class of text we have styled "Reports".

Example of inquiry ¹⁾: (1) "God Shamash, great lord, what I ask you answer me with unfailing assent.

(2) Should Assarhaddon, king of Assyria, meditate and plan for the warriors in the town of Karibti, in should they be on their guard against the enemy, from today onwards, the day of this month of Tizzar till the of the month of Sivân of this year, for 40 days and 40 nights, the time defined for the bârû-rite. During this determined time will Kashtarit and his warriors or the warriors of or of the Chedes or any enemy, whatever be their number, by force of arms, battle and slaughter, or by assault or by starving out or by breeches, with battering-ram or with or with storming-machine or with friendly speech or accord or by some such cunning action for the purpose of capturing a town, take the town of Karibti, penetrate into this town of Karibti, will their hand conquer this town of Karibti, will it be added to their possessions. Thy great deity knows it. The capture of this town of Karibti by any enemy soever from the present day till the (last) day of the time determined by me, is it decided in the command and the sentence of thy great deity, god Shamash, great lord; will it be really seen, will it be really heard?

¹⁾ Ki. n.1.

(3) Permit not („ezib“) that within my time limit.

Permit not that they plunder their fields, and effect a slaughter.

Permit not that their hearts meditate evil for him and that they become disloyal.

Permit not that the decision of the present day, whether it now turn out good or bad.

Reverse: (4) For the warriors in the town of Karibti, in from this day . . . day of this month of Tizzar till day of the month of Sisan of this year in this defined time will Kashtarik and his warriors or the warriors of or the warrior of the Chedes or any enemy whatsoever capture the town of Karibti, penetrate into this town of Karibti, will their hand conquer this town of Karibti, will it be added to their possessions.

(5) In this lamb design a secure assent, favourable omens, a good lucky oracle of the word of thy great deity's mouth grant that I may see.

(6) May it please thy great deity, god Shamash, great lord, may you answer with an omen.

This brings the inquiry proper to an end. It is followed by a series of the omens observed in the liver inspection which took place:²⁾

„The tip of the standing-place is slit, the path double, the upper...

.....
The under-part, there is an ear

There is a standing-place, a path, a bladder (?), a rent

The centre of the hind surface of the middle of the „finger“ is visible

A few more omens are written on the left-hand margin but are almost effaced.

3. Third Class. - Compendia.

These texts are nothing other than lists of the physical phenomena or omens which might appear on the sheep's liver with their respective meanings, that is, the events prognosticated by them. The texts as they stand were not composed on the occasion of any historical liver inspection, but went to form, as the name suggests, extensive collections of omens and their authentic interpretations gradually gathered toge-

²⁾ These omens, as is usual, begin with „šumma“, which is not, however to be translated in the description of historical omens.

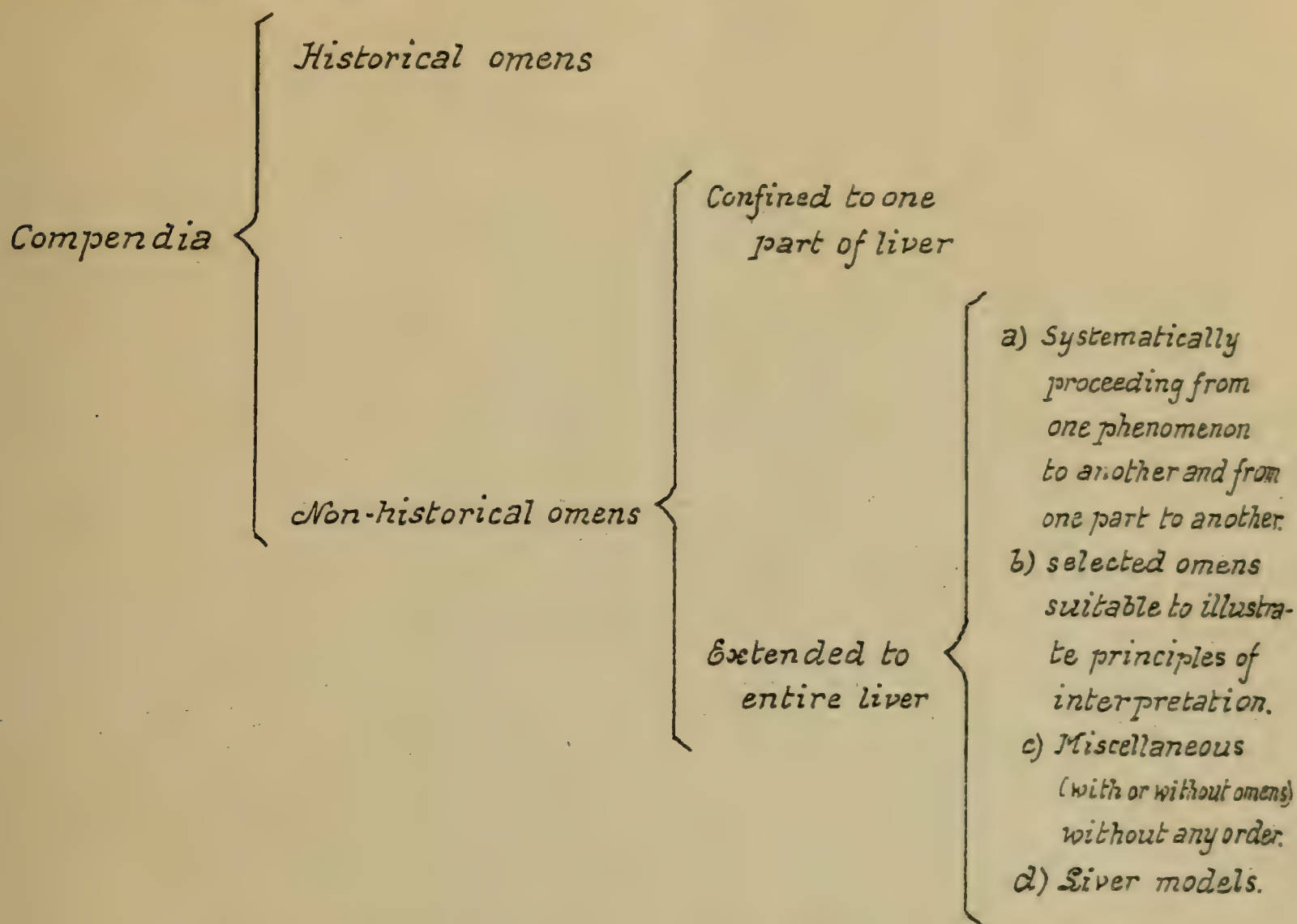
ther by the auspices or *bârû*-priests, and preserved in the schools or in the archives of the temple. This can be proved both from the absence of signature, date and other elements which are characteristic of historical reports, and from the fact that many of them confine themselves to one portion of the liver and enumerate so many and such varied and often contradictory phenomena as could not have appeared on one occasion alone. In the early days of liver-divination we may take it for granted that no such collections existed, but as the art developed the priests must have soon realised the need of compiling such catalogues; for no augur however skilled could retain in his memory the meaning of so many and such complicated omens as they believed they saw on the sheep's liver. There must, moreover, have been occasions when they were particularly impressed by what seemed to them a correspondence between some liver-omen actually observed and the events which happened afterwards. Of these omens and of their interpretation indicated or confirmed by experience they would most certainly not fail to preserve an account for future reference. Besides, the utility of such texts for training the future *bârû*-priests in terminology and principles of interpretation must have been keenly appreciated in the temple schools. Thus there gradually grew up in the temples great collections of interpreted omens which served firstly as books of reference for the auspice when drawing up the result of a liver inspection, and secondly as manuals for the young *bârû*-priests, and according as fresh liver phenomena were observed and interpreted, they were doubtless added to the collection.

That they were used in the training of the future augurs is indicated by descriptive drawings of important parts of the liver which appear upon some of these texts, also by a certain number of them which contain an assortment of omens selected apparently to illustrate the principles of interpretation, and finally, by the existence of liver-models, i. e. clay reproductions of the liver.

When the collections first came into existence we cannot tell. The oldest texts we possess, except for one liver-model of the Hammurabi period, were written in the 7th century for Ashurbanipal's Library in which they formed a considerable group. But these we know were merely copies or extracts of older tablets. In fact we find two omens attributed to Urumush, one in Sm 82³ and one in K 1365, and an omen of Ibi-Sin in K 6271 and one in K 3670. By far the most important evidence, however, is provided by a series of omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin (K 2130) showing that early in the 3rd millennium B.C.

at least some collections of omens existed. For earlier times than this we have no documentary evidence, though we may conjecture from speculative reasons that liver-divination had not been long an art of the priests before they began to provide themselves with compendia of some sort.

Classification:



There are two main classes of compendia-texts: those which contain historical omens, and those which contain non-historical omens.

1. Historical Omen Collections

a) Composition: The first class of texts gave in each paragraph

- I) phenomena observed on sheep's liver in the course of a particular important official liver-inspection, - hence we call them historical omens,
- II) the name of the king at whose instance the liver-inspection took place,
- III) a subsequent historical event extracted from the annals of that king's reign.

Example: I) „(If) the liver surface encloses within its cir-

conference the gall-bladder - II) an omen for Sargon, III) who on the strength of this oracle proceeded against Eiam, and subjugated the Elamites, having surrounded them and cut off their provisions."

The conjunction of the historical event with the omen could not have had any historical purpose, but was evidently proposed as that which was portended by the omen and consequently as its authentic interpretation. This class of compendia, therefore, was destined primarily as a secure guide for the interpretation of similar omens in future liver-inspections.

It appears from the text that before proceeding on his military campaign Sargon had indeed sought through a liver-inspection an assurance of its success and received a favourable answer. In this respect, then, the conjunction of the successful expedition with this omen was not merely arbitrary on the part of the priest who composed the text. But on a closer examination we are led to suspect him of having so chosen some of the details that they should correspond according to his analogical principles with the omen, or vice-versa of having selected this liver phenomenon out of many others observed at the same time because it indicated in some manner the event. Thus the surrounding of the enemy and the cutting off of supplies was clearly indicated to the mind of the *bârû*-priest by the enclosure of the gall-bladder within the liver surface. The same is true of all the other omens of the collection from which this example has been taken. We have an example of a slightly different type in the following omen of Urumûš: "(If) the head of the gall-bladder encloses the lymphatic gland and is surrounded by weapons" - the omen of Urumûš, the king whom the men of his palace killed". In this record we are not told that the king acted on the strength of the omen but an important event in the king's career is chosen as having happened very soon after the liver augury, which stamped that omen as unlucky.

b) Collections that existed.

Of collections of historical omens we possess but one tablet K 2130 (Assyrian) which contains eleven omens of Sargon and two of Naram-Sin similar to the example given above, and its mutilated Neo-Babylonian duplicate (no. 67404 in BM). According to Jastrow the subscription on this tablet permits us to conclude that it was one of a series of tablets in which the enumeration of omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin was continued, and it is possible, as he says, that the fragments K 5929, K 6859, K 10623, in which Sargon and Naram-Sin are mentioned, belonged to the same series.

Traces of this or, perhaps, of other collections of historical

omens of the same age are found in a few of the K-texts¹⁾ in each of which an omen of Sargon or Naram-Sin is inserted among a series of non-historical omens, being probably extracts from a homogeneous collection.

Now although all the tablets in question are no older than Assyrian times, their contents must have been already compiled as omen collections during the reigns of Sargon and Naram-Sin or, at latest, a very short time afterwards. Otherwise we cannot explain how record was kept of them, and on the other hand they cannot be reasonably regarded as later inventions, both because the historical facts are confirmed by a Neo-Babylonian chronicle (created by King), and because the conscientiousness of the *šârî*-priests in discharge of their office, as seen from the study of Babylonian liver-divination, renders this supposition untenable. The Assyrian scribes copying from collections preserved in the temple archives of Babylon have left us the texts we possess.

Of the existence of other collections of this sort we have no conclusive documentary proof, but the existence of omens of Urnuš and of Ibi-Sin (Ur Dyn.) inserted in series of non-historical omens²⁾ point to the probable existence of collections of the omens of these kings, from which they were extracts. Finally we find some omens called "omens of Gilgamesh" (K 4063, Bez. Cat. p. 591; 83-1-8, 452, Bez. Cat. p. 1892; K 8291, Bez. Cat. p. 914; K 7149?) which would lead us to believe that there existed what we might style "a Gilgamesh omen collection". At the same time, although this may lend credit to the existence of a historical character underlying the Gilgamesh-epic, as Jastrow thinks, it would be rather far-fetched to attribute without more ado these omens to that person in face of the mythical character he afterwards acquired. The use of the name in connection with omens could easily be explained by other reasons.

From these examples we may conclude that it was the practice of the priests to collect the omens of important kings to each of which they added a subsequent event as its authentic interpretation. The use of these historical collections and the value placed upon them as guides of interpretation is well illustrated by the procedure of the scrupulous king Nabonidos, who, upon receiving the result (favourable) of a liver augury, to make assurance doubly sure compared it with a "report" preserved in his archives of a previous inspection.³⁾ The interpretation of the previous

¹⁾ Rm 2, 112; K 2235; K 2317; K 6446; K 5929; K 5988; K 10244.

²⁾ s. p. 29.

³⁾ For a fuller exposition s. Jastr. *Rel.* 2, 248-264. The texts are published in VR 2.63.

augury had in his estimation been borne out by the subsequent events. The omens in both cases were practically the same, and when upon comparison he found the interpretations also tallied, he was quite satisfied that the latest augury had been correctly interpreted and he might securely proceed with his undertaking.

2. Non-Historical Omen Collections.

I. In General.

a) Contents and Composition.

These texts, unlike those just treated of, contain omens which were not the data of any particular official liver-inspection but series of phenomena of all sorts which the priests knew from experience were likely to appear on the sheep's liver. To each omen is added as a rule its interpretation based for the most part on rules evolved by the *bārû*-priests, partly upon previous experience of what had actually happened after the observance of a similar omen, partly as seems probable taken from tablets containing the results of former liver-inspections.

The texts are divided into short paragraphs and each paragraph gives a rather simple phenomenon of some one part or region of the liver. In general it runs thus: "*šumma*" (= if) + part of liver + phenomenon + interpretation. Example: "If the biliary duct is long, the days of the king will be long".

The interpretations refer, principally to victory over the enemy or defeat at his hands, rebellion, less frequently to inundations, good health, illness or death, length of king's days, appeasement of offended deity, and, rarely, to the condition of the *bārû*-priests. They are ordinarily drawn up in a general manner without proper names of persons or places, so as to be more easily adapted in their use to various particular cases. In a few instances, however, we find a certain date mentioned, but in these we have very likely interpretations based on former experiences of happenings on these dates after such omens had been observed.

Indeed the primary importance of the interpretation for reference purposes was to indicate whether the omen was "lucky" or "unlucky", and, in fact, we find some series which give merely the general interpretation "lucky" or "unlucky", "forbidden", "assent", "annihilation", "healing", etc. It is also important to note that for some of the omens

two or more interpretations are given, which were perhaps gathered from various older collections; these were really meant as alternative interpretations, some of them referring to public, others to private affairs, so that the *šārû*-priest could choose whichever was best suited to answer the particular inquiry proposed in the liver-inspection.

As regards phraseology, the first and second person came by usage to refer to the king of Babylon (or of Assyria respectively), e.g. „my army“, „thy army“, „my hands“, „I will conquer the enemy“, „the enemy will kill me“, etc. This would seem to indicate that, in the beginning at any rate, the interpretations were partly based upon preserved reports of actual liver-inspections; these terms would naturally in the course of time come to be constantly used in mechanical fashion in the compendia. The use of the third person for the king is, however, not by any means excluded.

The term „enemy“ is constantly used in a general sense to designate a king or country hostile to Babylon (or to Assyria resp.).

Series of Tablets.

The compendia texts were ordered in different series (KU-KAR, *iškaru*), each series containing a number of tablets and designated by the opening line of its first tablet, in particular by the name of the part of the liver principally treated in that line.

The existence of such series is proved from what we know as the colophon, which appears at the end of each tablet and gives the name of the series, the number of the tablet in that series and the first line of the following tablet. Besides, we possess in K 1352 (CT 20, 1-3) a complete catalogue of two of these series of the library of Assurbanipal, the first of which contained 14, the second 17 tablets. The catalogue gives the first line of each tablet, its number in the series and, for the first series, the number of lines in each text.

To such series belongs a large group of the Kouyunjik-collection in the British Museum but, as is to be expected, no complete series has yet been found. We know there existed a series „šumma multabiltum“ - K 1352 is catalogue of this series;¹⁾ CT 20, 39-42 = 1st tablet; K 3945 = 3rd tablet; a ŠU-SI series - K 6054 fragment of third tablet; K 1365 = fragment of 9th tablet; Sm 513 possibly = 10th tablet; K 3816 = 11th tablet; K 3816 was not the last tablet of the series, therefore, it contained at least twelve; a series „šumma martu“ (SI) - Rm 273 = fragment of 8th tablet; a series „šumma ina reš marti kam-tum nadat“ - K 3568 (fragm.); a series „šumma padānu“ (GIR) - Rm 2, 112 = 3rd tablet; K 3671 = fragm. of 4th tablet;

K 6271(?); a series „šumma kakku” (GIŠ·KU) - K 187 = fragm. of 3rd tablet; a series „šumma pân takalti” (ŠI·TU) - K 3952 + K 12736 = 1st tablet; CT 20, 31-33 = 2nd tablet; K 6244 = 3rd tablet; K 7000 = 4th tablet; this was followed by a fifth. Some texts of these series have been published. Other series still awaiting publication are: HAR, ŠAG₄-NIGIN.

A goodly number of these texts has been published in CT 20, 28, 30, 31, KAR 4.9, TC 6 and DA, but most of them still remain unpublished, and only in CT 20 has any attempt been made to arrange them in their original series.

We have in CT 20:

- a) pl. 2-30 a selection of tablets of the series GIR so called by the Assyrians from the word with which most of the separate forecasts in the series began, and some other tablets belonging to the same subjects;
- b) pl. 31-38 - tablets referring to the series GAR·TAB;
- c) pl. 39-50 - tablets relating to the series Ennuma multabiltum, the opening words of the first forecast.

We have in CT 28 pl. 43-50 a selection of omen texts referring principally to two parts of the liver, ŠI (= prob. the gall-bladder), and the ŠU·ŠI (= prob. the processus pyramidalis).

In CT 30:

- a) pl. 1-21 omens of the ŠI.
- b) pl. 22-32 treat principally the GIR, giš·KU and NA.
- c) pl. 33-40 refer principally to the ŠI, giš·KU and NA.
- d) pl. 41-50 deal with the ŠI and ŠU·ŠI.

In CT 31 we have omens of the NA, giš·KU, GIR, ŠU·ŠI, ŠI, MAŠ, KAK-TI, Kak-zag-ga and Kalîtu.

From duplicates of some of these texts it appears that for some of these series more than one copy existed, but the series did not always contain the same number of tablets in every copy, so that tablets containing the same text did not always occupy the same position in the different copies, e.g. the 4th tablet in one copy might be the 5th in another, or one tablet in one copy might contain the text of two successive tablets in another copy.

Classes of Series.

- 1) Some series are restricted to the enumeration of omens of one part ⁴⁾ of the liver.

⁴⁾ Phenomena of the neighbouring parts are also given in so far as they have an intimate connection with the part principally dealt with.

2) Other series are extended to the entire liver, or at least to many of its parts, a) partly proceeding systematically from one phenomenon to another and from one part of the liver to another, b) partly giving omens selected for their suitability to illustrate principles of interpretation, c) partly containing miscellaneous omens without any order either with or without their interpretations.

We have examples of class 1 in the texts published in CT 20, 2-30 (GIR series), ŠU-SI series in Bez. Cat. p. 2011; of class 2 in CT 20, 39-50 (Muttabiltum series); of 2a in CT 20, 31-33 (ŠI-TU series) and K 7000, CT 20, 11.-15. 19.24; of 2b CT 20, 39-42; of 2c CT 20, 44, 48-61. 45-46.

In some of these texts belonging to class 2 the interpretation is given shortly, e.g. in K 3945 is given a list of omens styled in every case simply "lucky"; this is followed by a list of omens interpreted "unlucky, if incomplete (?) lucky".

We have a peculiar type in DA 209-210, a text which gives a list of omens brought into relation with various deities in their interpretations. They are considered as signifying the presence or influence¹⁾ of some god's power expressed by the word "hand", e.g. "if complete (?) the compressed biliary duct is the hand of Marduk".

Again there are some school-texts, such as K 1999, which give no interpretations but serve to illustrate liver-phenomena by drawings, glosses and explanations. If we are to accept the opinion which appealed most to Tastrow regarding CT 4, 34,²⁾ we have in this tablet an ancient school-text of this type composed in the I Babylonian Dynasty.

In some compendia texts we find the omens numbered "one", "two", "three" etc. for the benefit of the student bārû.

Finally, under compendia specially destined for use in the schools must also be classed clay designs or reproductions of the sheep's liver of which we possess two, Rm 620 and Bu 89-4-26, 238³⁾. The

¹⁾ From other cuneiform texts we know that each deity was considered as having a special influence for good or evil; thus "the hand of Shamash" = destruction of the house. The import of each god's influence is not expressed in the omen-texts but presumed to be known by their readers.

²⁾ Boissier, on the contrary, considered this text as an official report giving the actual data of a liver-inspection. Tastrow admits that it might possibly have been a note taken by the augur of such data to which he might refer in drawing up the official report, but thinks the other opinion given above more probable.

³⁾ For their age s. p. 15.

former bears the names of various parts of the liver, and for this reason would be very important were it not badly injured, the latter is divided by vertical and horizontal lines into about fifty squares in which are written the interpretations of various phenomena.

4. Fourth Class. - Liver-Inspection Reports.

From the comparison of these texts with the inquiries on account of a certain similarity in style and formulae, the different position of the omens, the occasional presence in the former of the time-limit and "exib-lims" the conclusion is reached that they were official reports giving the result of actual liver-inspections occasioned by those inquiries. These reports were composed after the manner of a letter to be sent to the king by one or more *bārû*-priests, who always added their signatures with the title "*bêl tēmi*" (= reporter). Thus we may consider them as answers to the inquiries. No report has been discovered, however, which actually corresponds to any particular inquiry text we have. Sufficient reason for this is the fact that the two classes of texts in our possession belong for the most part to different periods, the inquiries generally to the time of Assurhaddon, the reports to that of the revolt of Šamašsumukîn.

Composition. 1. The report opens immediately with a list of the omens observed and their interpretations. The structure of each line is the same as in the compendia texts. The interpretation, however, is not always added probably because the meaning of the omen in question was evident or known. The word "*šumma*" (= if) is out of place in these texts as we are here in the presence of an actual result. Its insertion can be explained by supposing the use of a compendium from which the priest got the interpretation of the omen, and as he naturally found the sentence there beginning with "*šumma*" he transcribed it as he found it without omitting that word. "*šumma*" is, therefore, not to be translated in the reports. The use of the permissive form of the verb which appears in both classes of texts is to be explained in a similar fashion. The general interpretation of the compendia was sometimes written in the report without any change, nay even more than one interpretation might be given; sometimes it was particularized so as to refer to the object of that particular inquiry.

2. a) The question which was contained in the inquiry is now briefly stated, rarely preceded by a time-limit or followed by an "exhibition" relating to the contents of the question.

b) The number of the omens and the general result, favourable or unfavourable (*tāb*; *ul tāb* or *laptat*) is given either immediately after or before this question. This is really the answer to the inquiry, as the single interpretations seldom, if ever, had any direct bearing on the question asked.

3. The text is then concluded by the date and the signature of the "bēl temi". The reporter sometimes inserted here and there a good wish for the king.

Example ¹⁾ of official report:

"There is a "standing-place", the "path" is double, the left "path" lies on the right "path",
the enemy will let his weapons rage over the weapons of the prince.

KAL does not exist, ni-ip-hu.

a "finger" lies on the right side of the "standing-place",
downfall of the army or of the sanctuary.

The left portion of the gall-bladder is firm, thy foot tramples the enemy.

The "finger" and MAŠ are normal,

The hindpart of the liver is injured on the right, injury of the head, change of my army's plan.

The under portion "goes",

A SA-TI is seated upon the crown, the middle liverfinger, its base is loose,

Kaskasu is bright, the irru sâhirûti XV,

The sheep's inside normal.

The "path" is double, the left "path" lies upon the right "path".

There is no KAL, a "finger" lies on the right side of the "standing-place".

The hind portion of the liver is injured on the right.

SA-TI is seated upon the crown.

5 unlucky (omens) present.

no lucky one present.

it is unlucky."

¹⁾ K 159 (Kl. n. 105).

Reverse:

Now follows the query taken from inquiry tablet: -
 Nabû-bêl-šimâti from the sea-board,
 who considers not the beneficence of Asurbanipal, king of Assyria,
 the creation of thy hands, of his lord, who the calling of thy great
 name
 with contempt expressed and haughtily despised,
 now has Asurbanipal, king of Assyria
 thy worshipper, learned,
 thuswise: "hath he the archers in Elam
 assembled". Will he go, will he
 the warriors, the troops of Asurbanipal,
 king of Assyria, the Assyrians,
 or the Akkadians or the Chaldeans
 or the Ahlani, who have embraced the feet of Asurbanipal, the crea-
 tion of thy hands, to give combat, battle and slaughter,
 will he engage them in battle.

Not good.

Exib (= permit? or permit not?) that he go and halt in the terri-
 tory of Elam or in the territory of his land,
 be it to cause fear, be it to aid,
 and in the territory may he not penetrate.

4th Nisan, Eponymat of Sagab.

Asur-âan-in-šarru, Danai, Reporter.

They have performed the exorcism¹⁾ in the new palace".

CHAPTER 2

A Liver Inspection in practice.

Before an important undertaking or event, of which
 the king was anxious to know the result, an order was sent from

¹⁾ The word "exorcism" is here used in a wide sense, and really means augury.

the Court to the temple asking that a liver inspection take place, and the object of the inquiry was stated. The occasion of the augury was generally one of interest for the public welfare, such as a military expedition, a threatened invasion, an appointment to a position of public trust, for the gods were chiefly concerned with the wellbeing of the state. Yet an inquiry might be made about the king's health or illness in the royal Court or concerning family affairs, for these also were indirectly connected with the welfare of the state. In our documents the king is always the inquirer, though we cannot on that account exclude private inquirers whose texts may have been lost.

The order was received by the official augurs, i. e. the priests styled „bārû”, whose name indicates their chief duty viz. to inspect the omens of the liver. One of these with the aid of a *tanit*-text containing formulae for the matter in question¹⁾ formulated the question, added the name of the king and of others concerned, the „exib-” and other formulae, and having written it on a tablet was ready to proceed to the next act viz. the sacrifice.

Great care had to be taken regarding the place and time of sacrifice, the ceremonies preparatory to and during the sacrificial act, lest any violation of the ritualistic regulations should render the augury invalid²⁾.

A propitious day had first of all to be chosen. The place³⁾ of sacrifice must not be rendered „unclean” by any person, animal or thing. The sacrificial animal, generally a sheep⁴⁾, must be without defect and ritually clean. The bārû and his assistants, likewise clean, must follow in detail the directions of their ritual by washing in consecrated water before sunrise, anointing themselves with special oil, cleansing themselves with *amarisk* and donning clean garments. The bārû-Priest cleansed his mouth by supping the sap of the cedar and chewing barley.

After these preliminary ceremonies, during which, as during

¹⁾ s. *tanit* text subscription in p. 21 ff.

²⁾ s. „exib-lines” in inquiry texts.

³⁾ We know from observations in the reports that the inspection took place at some sanctuary or sometimes in the Court itself.

⁴⁾ This appears from the expression „lib šu'i šalim” (= the inside of the sheep normal) which commonly stands at the end of the list of omens in the report-texts.

those following, certain prescribed prayers were recited with scrupulous exactitude, the sheep was led at sunrise to the place of sacrifice. The inquiry was recited by the Barû or whispered in the sheep's ear, and the tablet on which it was written was laid before Šamaš. If this did not contain the inquirer's name, it was written on something else, (probably papyrus) and placed beside the inquiry. The sheep sprinkled with consecrated water was now slaughtered and its abdomen opened. At this point the liver-inspection proper began. It is very probable that the conditions and relative positions of the liver; intestines (relative to the uterus in a female sheep), stomach and kidneys were first examined in the sheep's inside. This is indicated: a) by CT 20, 1, 1: "If the liver in the inside of the sheep shines forth"; b) by a frequent omen that probably gives the number of the coils of the intestines; c) by the omen; "the inside of the sheep normal", which appears in nearly every report.

The liver was then extracted and brought by the attendants to the Barû, who observed the chief omens thereon, and noted them on the inquiry tablet. These had now to be interpreted. We know not whether this office was fulfilled by the priest who carried out the inspection, or whether, as is by no means improbable, it was the special duty of other priests. The interpreter or interpreters brought forth the compendia, found interpreted therein the omens just observed and on a fresh tablet wrote each omen with its interpretation as given in the compendia.

The general result of the augury was now deduced from a comparison of the number and quality of lucky and unlucky omens and noted; "tâb"; "ul tâb" or "laptat". If the result was unfavourable a second augury took place, and if this was not successful, yet a third. The query was added from the inquiry text and the date and signature of the reporter or reporters affixed. This was the official report and was sent to the king, sometimes accompanied by the liver examined or a clay reproduction of it, that he might satisfy himself about the result contained in the report.


CHAPTER 3

1. Parts of the Liver and their Signs and Names.

a) Parts of the Liver.

The surface of the sheep's liver which in the animal faces the entrails and which the Babylonians called the „front-surface“¹⁾ is divided in its lower part by two vertical grooves or channels, the „fossa vesicae felleae“ on the right and the „fossa venae umbilicalis“ on the left into three lobes known by the Babylonians as the „lobus dexter“, the „lobus quadratus“ (in the middle) and the „lobus sinister“. A horizontal groove, the liver-gate, separates from these on other lobe on the upper part of this surface, viz. the „lobus caudatus“, on which stand the „processus pyramidalis“, an appendix projecting out from the liver-surface like a finger, and to the left of this the much smaller appendix, the „processus papillaris“. The gall-bladder hangs down to the lower edge of the liver-surface between the lobus dexter and the lobus quadratus, its „biliary duct“ running from it along the „fossa vesicae felleae“ to join higher up with the „hepatic duct“ coming out of the liver higher up in the „ductus choledochus“ or „common bile-duct“ near the upper edge of the left lobe. Near the hepatic duct is the large „portal vein“, and running around the upper edge of the liver is the „hepatic vein“. The surface of the liver facing the midriff was known to the Babylonians as the hind²⁾ surface.

b) Names and Signs.

UR () is the most commonly used sign for the liver in

¹⁾ Nowadays it is regarded as the hind surface.

²⁾ Now called the front surface.

the omentums, and is to be read in Assyrian „Kabittu”²⁾, the liver.

BA (𒂗) comes next in frequency, „pantu”. This in its stricter and original sense meant only the front surface²⁾, and is frequently so used as distinct from „seru”, the hind surface. But since the front surface was the principal one, as being the chief seat of the omens BA is also used to mean the entire liver-surface.

BAR (𒂗) (litt. = „parâsu”, to secure a decision) in religious texts often = „kabittu”.

PEŠ = a sign for the liver never used in the liver omentums.

Hašu (s. CT 4, 34, 8) and ŠI also probably indicate the liver.

Kappu = a lobe.

Kappu kabitti ša imitti = right lobe.

Kappu kabitti ša šumêli = left lobe.

UR·MURUB = caudate lobe (according to Jastrow).

ŠU·SI = (litt. the horn of the hand) ubânu, the „finger” of the liver, i. e. the processus pyramidalis. ŠU·SI is a fuller form (Jastr.) This had a base middle and summit.

SAG·UR = rêš kabitti, the tip of the processus pyramidalis (according to Jastrow)³⁾.

MAŠ = (reading uncertain) processus papillaris (Jastrow).

ŠU·SI TUR = another name for the processus papillaris.

ŠI (= daddaru, bitter) = martu, the gall-bladder. Its base, middle and summit were distinguished.

Mê = (litt. water) gall.

NA = mahritu(?) or elû(?), biliary duct (Jastrow), has base, middle and summit distinguished.

GIR = niptu(?), hepatic duct (Jastrow), of which the right and left were distinguished.

ME·NI = niru, the common bile duct (Jastrow).

²⁾ For a few unimportant variants of kabittu s. Jastr. Tel. 2, 213, n. 1.

²⁾ A probable reason for the use of BA to mean the front surface of the liver is that BA means (besides „thirty”) „three”, and so corresponded well with the principal lobes.

³⁾ The readings and meanings given for this and the following signs (except SI) are more or less conjectural, as we really with certainty know only a few of the signs used as names of parts of the liver.

GAR·TAB = nasraptu, the liver-gate (according to Jastrow).

DAN = dannu (?), the portal vein (Jastrow), had base, middle and summit.

TU = the edge of the liver.

ID·TU = the "fossa vesicae felleae" (Jastrow).

ID·BA (or ID·UR) = the "fossa venae umbilicalis".

SAL·LA-kabitti = (liver-vulva) "the sunken part of the liver" on the hind surface according to Klauber.

ŠA₃·NIGIN = irru sahirûti, more probably = intestines (thus Klauber and Jensen); according to Jastrow = knotty tissue.

2. Liver-phenomena.

(I) Beginning with the liver in general we find the following phenomena noted in the omen-texts:

the flesh of the liver might be moist, fat, luxuriant, or shrivelled;

the liver-surface was sometimes considered as shaped like a lid, a lion's head etc.;

The lobes, appendices, ducts and gall-bladder were examined as regards size, whether they were large, swollen, thick, or small, long or short, having a broad surface;

as regards condition, whether healthy and normal, firm, complete, or diseased and defective, crushed, slit, or gapped, pressed into the liver-surface, visible or invisible (partly or wholly), loose, torn, leaning to right or left, whether the ducts contained bile, were stopped, etc.;

as regards number, whether the ducts or veins were double, treble etc., one lying over the other;

as regards colour, whether black, green or white, dark or bright.

It was considered important to note if the gall-bladder was encompassed within the extent of the liver-surface, or extended down over the lower edge of the liver.

(II) Marks and lines, chiefly formed by the dilatations

of the ducts and veins, of all configurations and hardly ever the same on any two livers, always appeared in abundance on the front surface. The hind surface, on the contrary was smooth and devoid of such marks. These phenomena were distinguished into three classes representing in the augur's imagination:

- 1) „weapons“ (⁹ⁱ KU, Kakku or zibu),
- 2) parts of animals bodies e.g. head or ear of lion, dog, sheep, horn of goat etc.
- 3) „paths“ (GIR, padānu); „station“, or „standing-place“ (NA, manzazu).

Besides these the existence of holes or hollows¹⁾ on the liver-surface is a phenomenon very frequently mentioned in the omen-texts.

The presence of a gall-stone or of lymphatic glands was also noted as an omen of importance.

3. Order of Omens in Reports.

In the official reports of inspections the omens of the NA (= „manzazu“, a place, or „mahritu“(?), „elū“(?), the biliary duct) nearly always came first, then came the GIR (= „padanu“, a „path“ or „nīptu“, the hepatic duct) followed by the DI (= „šulmu“, lymphatic gland?) or the KAL. For the other parts of the liver no strict order was adhered to except that MAŠ and ŠU-SI came together, and the enumerations was generally concluded by giving the number of the ŠR₃·NIGIN and remarking if the inside of the sheep was normal. If more than one inspection took place, the reporter sought to give omens in the same order in all cases.

¹⁾ This is according to Jastrow's probable reading of U as „dihu“, a hole.

CHAPTER 4

Theory.

Origin and Principles of Liver-divination.

1. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

The Babylonians saw in the physical phenomena of the sacrificial sheep's liver a manifestation or revelation of the future i.e. of the will and knowledge of the gods. In its origin it was popular, and only later was it taken up by the priests of the temple schools and made by them a highly developed art. Now what were the fundamental principles of all this?

(I) The Babylonians believed, as did all peoples of that time, that the liver was the seat of the soul. This cannot be doubted for:

- 1) it is proved by the history of anatomical science: only with the later development of this science did the heart and later the brain oust the liver from this dignity. This belief is easily explained if we remember that the liver would have appeared to them as the organ of the blood "par excellence", which latter was naturally regarded as the source of life;
- 2) this is confirmed by the frequent use of "kabittu", the common expression for the liver, to mean the soul.

(II) The foregoing was undoubtedly the underlying principle of liver divination. But to adequately answer the question proposed we must go farther.

Jastrow says that in the sacrifice the soul of the deity was believed to be identified with that of the sheep, so that the two souls were attuned, so to speak, to each other, and as a result the mind of the god was manifested in the external signs of the liver, the seat of the sheep's soul. We are not satisfied with this, for, although it would be a good explanation, it is a purely arbitrary theory having in its favour not

even an argument deduced from the religious psychology of the Babylonians or of the ancients in general.

I proceed, therefore, to give what I consider the best founded explanation. The ancient Babylonians, being an extremely superstitious people who saw a close connection and correspondence between the visible and invisible world, and who took particular note of anything of an extraordinary or mysterious character, must have been deeply impressed by that hidden faculty of the brute creation which we call "instinct". They must have noticed that many animals, that were in one sense their inferiors, possessed what seemed to be a hidden knowledge of many things of which man was ignorant. This mysterious faculty they would explain by an influence of the gods, which would naturally take place in the liver, the seat of the animal's soul.

In the second place they saw that a sheep's liver bore on one surface a profusion of irregular marks, lines, and other phenomena increased by the diseases of that country, while the livers of other animals were comparatively devoid of these. These therefore were the effect of some mysterious influence in the sheep's soul. Besides we can easily imagine that many of these marks appeared to the ordinary people similar to the writing used by the Babylonians. Nothing was more natural, then, than that they should come to consider these marks as the mysterious writing of the gods and believed that he who could read it would possess a secret knowledge. This would explain why they selected as an oracle-organ the liver of the sheep rather than that of many other animals that otherwise were much more cunning than the sheep. An additional reason for this selection is that the sheep perhaps had already become the common sacrificial animal among the Babylonians.

If the marks on the sheep's liver was ordinarily the expression of some mysterious knowledge received from the gods, how much more so would that be true of them during the solemn act of sacrifice when a deity was present and closely united¹⁾ in some way with the victim and interested in the offerer.

Finally I do not believe that the Babylonians, especially in the beginning, had a perfectly clear and detailed theory as to why they practiced liver divination. For them there was always something mysterious and hidden in the manner in which the oracle deities

¹⁾ I do not mean like Castrow that the soul of the god was identified with that of the sheep.

communicated the secret knowledge of the future through the liver of a sacrificial victim, nay, the more mysterious it was, the more superstitious they became in its regard.

This theory like all other theories concerning the principle of liver divination has no positive and explicit testimony in the documents which have come down to us, but it fits in very well with the ideas, religious and otherwise, of the early Babylonians.

2. PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

In interpreting the omens of the liver the priests followed definite laws and principles which gradually evolved into a complete system.

A primary principle was the distinction between the right hand side and the left. The right represented the "pars domestica", the inquirer or king, the left the "pars hostilis", the enemy or rival. It followed that a lucky sign appearing on the right was favourable to the king, a lucky sign on the left favourable to the enemy therefore unfavourable to the king, and vice-versa if the sign were unlucky. A like distinction was made but less frequently between the upper part (= king) and the lower part (= enemy). Similarly some parts of the liver were distinguished into the base, middle and summit, the base and summit generally referring to the king, the middle to the enemy.

To determine whether a sign was lucky or unlucky in itself the interpreter followed analogy to a large extent: association of ideas; play on words, play on numbers; e.g. for association of similar ideas; a portion of the liver long and extended or swollen indicated extension of territory or long life; if that portion stood for the king it meant extension of the king's territory, and vice-versa if it stood for the enemy. Again the enclosure of the gall-bladder within the liver surface signified a surrounded army or town, of the king or of the enemy according as it was enclosed on the right side or the left. A fat moist liver prognosticated a good harvest, a shrivelled one famine and want. And so on. We have a good example of play on words in the following: "the lymphatic gland (=,šulmu) is normal - prosperous life (=,šulmu' or ,šilimtu)". According to another important principle very similar to the preceding a normal and healthy firm member of the liver was a lucky sign, a defective diseased, loose, torn etc., one was unlucky.

As regards colour black and dark were unlucky, bright was lucky, in keeping with the common estimation of men.

"Weapons" generally indicated war, according to the same principle.

The value of a sign might also be affected by the day of the month on which the inspection took place.

Thus we see that the interpretation of a sign depended chiefly on the general principle of analogy. Another important factor however, was, as we should expect, experience based upon the supposition that if events turned out favourable after a certain omen once, they would be favourable on every other occasion also, which in turn was founded on the principle that an infallible connection, or rather correspondence, existed between the visible and invisible world. Experience in this way stamped certain omens as lucky or unlucky according to the succeeding events, or confirmed or corrected the interpretations already given to them by the Barû-priests. For examples see the omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin.

As for the general result of the augury if the number of important omens that were lucky was greater than that of the unlucky ones, the augury as a whole was favourable, if the contrary was true or even if the number on both sides was equal, it was considered unfavourable. In this comparison, however, not all the omens were of the same importance.

These principles, however, arbitrary most of them were in themselves or based upon false suppositions, were adhered to with great scrupulosity by the Barû-priests nor did they depart from them to satisfy the king as appears from the numbers of unlucky omens and unfavourable results of inspections.

3. AGE.

The omen texts and liver models of the Hammurabi period clearly show that at that time liver divination was already a fully developed system for which a special training was provided in the temple schools.

We have no omen texts early than this, but reference is made to the exercise of the Barû's office in a text of Sudea, while the collection of the omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin are sufficient authentic to bring us back to the time of these kings and to find the very same principles followed as in Assyrian days. Here our documents cease, but liver divination must certainly have existed in some shape or form long before the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C.

Throughout the 3rd millennium B.C. and during the Cassite period this species of divination certainly held sway above all others as a means of foretelling the future, and even though afterwards in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times astrology became a serious rival, the thousands of liver-omen texts and the numerous inspections carried out for the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings right on to the Seleucid period testify to the important position it still occupied in the sphere of divination.

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